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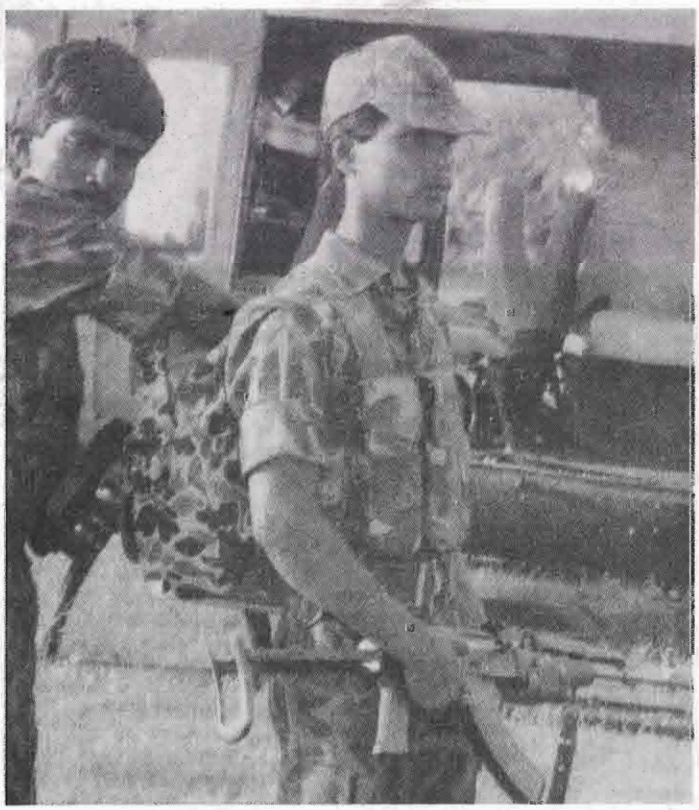
TIGERS LAND IN COLOMBO

The irony of the times: An AK47 toting Tiger stands guard over the Sri Lanka Air Force helicopter

Courtesy of 'The Sunday Times' Colombo



Have we forgotten anything... magazines, chocolates, walkie talkies, Cyanide capsules? ... No, everything seems to be there

Anton Balasingham is trapped at last by the pressmen who had been trailing him for days

YOUR VOICE

TOO EARLY FOR INDO-TAMIL EELAM PEACE TO BREAK OUT?

Krishna Vaikunthavasan, London

War between nations has taken place throughout the human story. Inevitably the wars always ended in peace, after a time. In the current 18 months of Indo-Eelam war, is it not time that this bloody war ended? Both sides have kept on accusing each other of being unwilling to start the negotiating process. Even before that, there has to be a *de facto* ceasefire. So, where is the hitch?

What we all must realise is that this is an unnatural war - unnatural in the sense that one does not fight oneself. India is not our enemy. It would be stupid if the Indian Government proceeds on the basis that the Eelam Tamils and the Tigers are their natural foes. Indians and we Tamils are natural allies, from time immemorial. There is no basic conflict of interests. The Tiger leadership has said often that they never regard themselves as anti-Indian. The Indians say that their army went into Sri Lanka in order to protect the Tamils! What a great shame and tragedy that, as a result, thousands of Tamils have been killed, tortured and raped.

The Indo-Tamil Eelam war is not only unnatural, not merely counter- productive but also, it is self-destructive both for us 'Eelamites' as well as for the Indian image.

EMERGING OF TAMIL EELAM NECESSARY FOR INDIA

M Punithapandiyan, Tamil Nadu

There are people in India who blindly refuse to accept the emergence of Tamil Eelam. Let us think of the freedom of Bangladesh and the 'selfish' role played by India in this issue. At least there the majority fought against the minority, but in Sri Lanka the minority is fighting against the majority and the Indians are refusing to accept this situation.

It is obvious that Trincomalee is an important base and it is being occupied by the imperialistic forces and only the Sri Lankan Government paved the way for it. Now, if the 'Freedom Fighters' are vanquished, then who will take over the Trincomalee military base? President Premadasa has slowly raised his voice to withdraw the one lakh Indian troops in Eelam. At that time what would be India's stand? Is there any possibility of safeguarding the military base from the imperialistic forces? The answer is certainly 'No'. Only the Tigers can safeguard the base in Trincomalee.

But think of the emergence of Tamil Eelam and the safety of the base from the deadly forces. The Tigers will never allow the imperialistic forces at any time, keeping the safety of India in mind at the time of achieving their goal. But without keeping the consequences in mind, India is trying to destroy the whole Tamil Eelam. But one day or other, India should answer to the massacres done there.

So, at least for its own selfishness, India or Indians should accept the emergence of Tamil Eelam, if not for Humanity.

JAYEWARDENE SIGNED AWAY THE SOVEREIGNTY WILLINGLY

By Shan, NSW, Australia

"What stopped India from invading Sri Lanka" (TVI, 15 March) needs elaboration and correction. After the 1983 genocide of the Tamils by Sinhalese in mainly southern Sri Lanka, the liberation movement in Eelam started growing rapidly. In their unsuccessful attempt to curb this growth the Sri Lankan security forces resorted to mass murder, torture and destruction, which continued till the LTTE took effective control of Eelam, and pushed the Sri Lankan soldiers to the barracks.

After Mr Gandhi came to power, India began visibly to blow hot and cold and increased its efforts to strengthen the other groups and weaken the LTTE. Recently an Indian diplomat was quoted in the Time magazine thus, "TELO which had no goals and no ideology was the perfect private army for RAW." In the year 1987, the LTTE consolidated its position further by wiping out TELO army and by disarming EPRLF, which led to India's harassment of LTTE in India.

Mr Jayewardene, helped by Mr Unnikrishnan (RAW) and other intelligence agencies (reported in Far Eastern Economic Review), read the signals correctly, but acted hastily. Mr Jayewardene's army attacked Vadamaradchy and took control of it, probably with the help of information supplied by Mr Unnikrishnan, upsetting India's plans of hegemony over Sri Lanka, if necessary by sacrificing the Tamils.

Soon after this, the LTTE retaliated and its squads attacked and destroyed the camp set up by the Sri Lankan army. At the same time, India, angered by Mr Jayewardene's actions, returned the missiles it confiscated from the LTTE.

These two events must have made Mr Jayewardene realise that Sri Lanka's security forces cannot beat the LTTE alone. This realisation only made him agree to give India a say in Sri Lanka's foreign policy, and in the use of Trincomalee harbour facilities, in return for India's agreement to neutralise the LTTE.

"Once the pact was signed, on July 29, 1987, India no longer had need for the guerrillas", said the latest *Time* magazine. "In domestic politics, Jayewardene made a fateful error: he spurned every opportunity to reach an accommodation with Sri Lanka's Tamils - 2 million among 12 million Sinhalese - who rightly felt they were being cut off from higher education and government." Even though it is too early to judge his performance, President Premadasa appears to have learnt little from Mr Jayewardene's experience.

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EDITORIAL

World Tamil Conference '89: The Way Forward

We came and we discussed our problems at three sessions and in four workshops. Each workshop presented a blueprint for action. Twelve vital resolutions were adopted. The plenary sessions had a galaxy of speakers from all parts of the world, the Indian invitees being particularly impressive in their role as persons who understood our problems. When we finally adjourned, there was no doubt that Conference '89 will be the pace-setter in the years to follow. After the Conference, an Implementation Committee was formed to carry out the tasks proposed in each of the plans of action suggested by the workshops.

Conference '89 was the logical successor to Conference '88 in that it took the Tamils of the world a step further, may be several steps, in the affirmation of support for the Tamil national liberation struggle. This Conference confirmed that ***Tamil nationalism*** has come to stay. It firmly indicated that this nationalism can never be put on reverse gear. The LTTE fights the enemy in Tamil Eelam. There is in addition, a Tamil expatriate community, the victims of the dreadful campaigns of pogromization since 1958 who will, come wind, come rain, uphold the banner of self-determination for the Tamils of Tamil Eelam.

The Conference met at a time when the Government of Sri Lanka had begun the process of dialogue and negotiations with the representatives of the LTTE. The World Federation of Tamils took this factor into account in its deliberations and when adopting the resolutions. Our hope is that there will be some outcome which could be a turning point in the historical process.

The Government of Sri Lanka by its guarantee of "safe passage" to the LTTE negotiators has accorded the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam recognition and legitimacy. The LTTE, after all is said and done, are the true ***Resistance*** to Indian adventurism and Sinhala jingoism. There are no other militants on the ground today fighting the armies of the two governments. They are not only engaged in battle but are also facing the brutalities of innumerable violations by the IPKF of the code on human rights.

The discussions that preceded and followed these resolutions, in the workshops and the *plenary session*, provided all delegates present the opportunity to contribute their instructed judgement to the future benefit of Tamil Eelam. In particular, we wish to invite attention to four significant points. The modern state is an artificial creation of the departing imperial power at the time of decolonization. New, dormant and revived nationalisms of ethnic minorities can result in the creation of additional independent sovereign states or modifications of the existing state. Secondly, there is a limit to the threshold of tolerance of minorities. Once that threshold is crossed, the armed struggle and militant resistance take over from constitutional and other forms of protest. Thirdly, the need for cementing the unity of all Tamil people in the north, east and plantation areas was underlined. Lastly, our Indian friends emphasised that from their perception, India should not seek to be the regional super power, though this might be the quirk of particular governments. Their view was that India should be what it had been, namely a power which seeks friendly relations with all its neighbours.

The resolutions adopted sought to provide a sheet anchor for our liberation: the leadership of the LTTE should receive firm and full support in their struggle and in the negotiations they are conducting with President Premadasa's government. Violations of human rights must be relentlessly investigated and exposed. Meaningful plans must be made to widen the area of internationalisation of the Tamil Eelam issue. Plans for the preservation of Tamil culture among the Tamil diaspora should receive immediate attention.

We emphasise again and hope that the present political developments in Colombo will be positive and a step in the right direction.

TAMIL VOICE International

எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள் மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.

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Material sent for publication may be abridged and edited if found necessary.

YOUR VOICE

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ROBBING PONNIAH TO PAY PERERA

By Lt Col Anton Nevins Selvadurai, U.K.

In his message on the 41st Independence Day, President Premadasa said:
"Heavy tasks lie ahead. We must reconstruct damaged property. We must fully restore law and order. We must terminate ethnic discord. We must enhance economic development. Most importantly we must end poverty. We must accomplish this without delay. We have started this process."

Let us analyse these worthy statements and see how matters have been handled. The throne speech of the Governor of the North-Eastern Province stated that about 100,000 families had lost their homes, leaving about 500,-000 people homeless. There were about 1,500 orphans and about 600 children with one parent lost. He said that the infrastructure of the Province had been totally devastated. The task of re-settlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction is mammoth and he assured that it would be achieved to everybody's satisfaction.

In the light of the huge expenditure required by the North-Eastern Provincial Council, let us examine the President's much vaunted Janasaviya Patha plan to alleviate poverty. About 1.4 million families are to receive Rs.2,500 each for a period of 2 years, requiring an expenditure of 42 billion a year for 2 years. Mr Amirthalingam said that this plan was: "One of the main reasons that prompted the poor people to vote for Mr Premadasa and the UNP." Mr Bala Tampoe's pragmatic response: "We do not think that the alleviation of poverty will result in the ending of the prevailing war situation."

It is not sure how many of these 1.4 million families are from the North-Eastern Province, where the bulk of the damage had been done and where there is a war still going on. The payment of Rs.2,500 seems to be rather excessive, considering that a graduate trained teacher gets less. But the President seems to be determined to keep his word. It would appear that the funds allocated for the Janasavya do not cover all the 7.5 million who are in the starvation category and is therefore unfair to the rest of the people. Priority should be given to war reparation and compensation. The North-Eastern Provincial Council is still not functioning and not being granted the funds promised, with the Chief Minister not even having an office to work from.

The President will have to tell the people that this time he cannot keep his promise; otherwise it would be once again considered as a cause for ethnic strife. It will appear that he is not alleviating poverty but "robbing Ponniah to pay Perera."

Another case of mixed-up priorities is giving free school meals to Colombo children when children of other provinces are homeless and starving. These imbalances must not be allowed to appear and all expenditure and allocation must be viewed in the larger context of the whole country. It is very important that justice must also seen to be done. It is obvious that priority must be given to war reparation caused initially by the Sri Lankan forces.

The President must be man enough to admit his rashness in making the Janasavya Patha pledge, which appears to be a "win at all costs" policy. This is a very irresponsible promise he has held out to the poor, knowing very well that there is still a war going on with Indian troops on our soil. Breaking a promise is the prerogative of the President in the greater interest of the country and the people will understand, as such things are not uncommon in our politics. Bandaranaike and Jayewardene have done it before and now it is Premadasa's turn; otherwise the world will laugh at us and we will lose credibility with the UN and the donor countries.

The President also said in his speech, "Four decades ago, the founding fathers of modern Sri Lanka pledged to create a nation where all people could live in brotherhood, justice and harmony."

What have successive governments done to keep this pledge? Let us hope that the Premadasa Government will be able to keep this pledge and prove their worth by deeds and endeavours. Ironically, breaking the Janasavya Patha pledge is one way of doing it; otherwise it may not be possible to achieve the task of re-settlement, rehabilitation and reconstruction of the North-Eastern province and other areas to everybody's satisfaction, as promised.

THE FUTURE OF EELAM TAMIL NATIONALISM

Ana Pararajasingham, Australia

The obvious lesson to be learnt by India through its current predicament is that Eelam Tamil Nationalism is a factor that has to be taken into account in any solution aimed at ending the conflict in Sri Lanka.

Despite all that has taken place between October 1987 and to-date, India still has the opportunity to make amends by withdrawing its troops and commencing a dialogue with the genuine Tamil leadership as represented by the LTTE to bring about a political solution acceptable to Eelam Tamils.

It has been suggested that another reason for India's attempt to crush Eelam Tamil nationalism is to be found in the perception that the emergence of an independent Tamil Nation would result in accelerating the separatist tendencies within India leading to the eventual disintegration of the Indian Union. This argument will have to be weighed against the eventuality of an independent state emerging despite India's opposition thus undermining India's dominance and accelerating the very process India has sought to avoid.

Therefore, there is no doubt that India has a vital stake in ensuring that Eelam Tamil Nationalism does not prove to be detrimental to its own interests. In other words, India ought to come to terms with Eelam Tamil Nationalism by acknowledging that this nationalism could not be overcome by either ignoring it or eliminating it, but by recognising it as a factor in regional politics.

This should come about by being a party to a solution that would result in the creation of a separate political and geographical entity based on the clear perception that Eelam Tamils constitute a nation occupying a certain well-defined region within the island of Sri Lanka.

FORTNIGHTLY FORUM

TALKING TIGERS

Under armed guard at a luxury hotel, the Sri Lankan government opened talks with the LTTE in the first week of May. The LTTE delegation comprised Mr Anton Balasingam, Mr Yogaratnam Yogi, Mr Paramu Moorthy, Mr Panchadcharam Lawrence and Mrs Adel Balasingham. According to a joint press statement issued on 4 May 1989, President Premadasa stressed "the need to know the truthfulness of all issues in order to arrive at a meaningful solution" - whatever that means. One would expect that the head of a sovereign state would have made it his business to know the truth of the situation by now. But the President is under pressure to bring a measure of peace, and perhaps one should not be too cynical. The President added that his mandate from the people of Sri Lanka was "to restore peace through a process of consultation, compromise and consensus." The LTTE delegation stated its appreciation of direct talks without preconditions, and the need for the restoration of peace and normalcy before any solutions could be worked out. Now that all the niceties and the required rhetoric have been taken care of, it is hoped that a lasting solution is in the offing although one cannot be too optimistic about it.

INDIAN LOVE CALLS

The LTTE, quite rightly, is adamant that the IPKF should withdraw from Tamil Eelam. But President Premadasa in his latest act of desperation has called for "fresh initiatives" from India to strengthen the Indo-Sri Lankan accord. This is a muddled reversal of his unilateral announcement the previous week that 7000 of the Indian troops would be sent back. He then issued an invitation to Prime Minister Gandhi to visit Sri Lanka through the newly appointed Indian High Commissioner, Mr Lakhan Lal Mehrotra. The move is neither politic nor diplomatic. As the *Indian Post* commented: "The almost off-hand manner in which the invitation was extended - 'neither formal nor informal' - may have been interpreted as an insult if the extenuating circumstance of the very contradictory pulls that the Sri Lanka President is under did not mitigate the act."

It is not only the LTTE that President Premadasa has to contend with, but also the JVP. Both groups want the expulsion of the IPKF, and Mr Premadasa's problem is how to extract concessions from the two groups in exchange for the removal of the Indian troops. Prior to the talks with the LTTE Mr Premadasa made the statement, perplexing in the light of his subsequent overtures to India, that it was no use for foreign powers to attempt to solve "our problems." Without naming India or the IPKF he said: "We can resolve our problems if we are united. When there is dissension and division, outside powers will try to rule us as the Portuguese, Dutch and British did in the past."

The JVP has not thus far responded to President Premadasa's offer of a dialogue and his willingness to visit JVP radicals in their hideouts "blindfolded if necessary." The JVP's conditions for ending its campaign of violence include not only the IPKF's withdrawal, but also the abrogation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and the annulment of the provincial, presidential and parliamentary elections - demands to which the LTTE is not likely to be averse.

LAST POST FOR THE QUISLINGS?

The EPRLF, as is to be expected, has gone into a sulk over the government's talks with the LTTE. Chief Minister Varadaraja Perumal said: "The intention of the government is good but it is doubtful whether anything will come out of the talks. You don't worship a poisonous snake and ask it not to strike you." His party chief, Mr Pathmanabha, went one step further and warned venomously: "Any attempt by the Sri Lankan government to dissolve the North-East Provincial Council to please the LTTE will be resisted politically and through armed struggle."

Parliamentary opposition leaders meanwhile welcomed the talks, though with the proviso that "the LTTE must drop the demand for a separate state." MEP leader Dinesh Gunawardene said: "Eelam as their objective must be replaced by an alternative solution. Whatever this solution may be, it should have the approval of all recognised political parties." In other words, the self-determination of the Tamil people shall only be at the behest of the Sinhala majority.

THE TALKS SO FAR

Even as we go to press there are reports on the progress and proceedings of the talks despite the supposed secrecy surrounding them. If the reports are to be believed, the LTTE agenda is clear. It wants the IPKF to leave and the provincial councils to be dismantled. The LTTE has also apparently signalled to President Premadasa that it would be willing to drop the demand for a sovereign Tamil Eelam in return for a Quebec-model autonomy for Tamil areas. This is at variance with the Accord which seeks to accommodate Tamil demands within the unitary constitution, and rules out federal settlement thus placing India in a predicament. Any agreement that accords the LTTE political or military primacy means an end to the IPKF-propped north-east provincial council and any EPRLF role in Tamil politics. India's hopes hinge on its belief that President Premadasa will not be able to accommodate any Quebec model without replacing the present unitary set-up with a federal one - a move that the JVP would vehemently oppose.

The fact remains, however, that the LTTE's direct dialogue with the Sri Lankan government erodes India's standing in the ethnic conflict because it means that the main protagonists are willing to go beyond the terms of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord in their quest for a solution. How India will respond to this state of affairs is one of the many imponderables.

THIRUKKURAL

S Sriskandarajah

சிறுபடையான் செல்லிடம் சேரின் உறுபடையான்
ஊக்கம் அழிந்து விடும்.

"Siru Padaiyaan Sellidam Serin Urupadaiyaan Ookkam Azhinthu Vidum" - **Transliteration (498)**

"If the prince whose army is smaller only betaketh himself to a proper theatre of war, all the endeavours even of the strongest foe would be in vain against him" - **Translation**

In one of our earlier articles we stressed the importance Thiruvalluvar gives for forethought and planning. But planning alone will not do, because difficulties can arise while trying to execute the plan. Execution of a planned course of action involves the assessment of the strength of the foe, deciding the appropriate timing and the theatre or place of action. And it is the third of the above aspects that the present article is concerned with.

It is more than plain that even to the most valiant and mighty warriors the possession of a strong fortress yields many benefits. Therefore Thiruvalluvar warns that an army should not embark on any attack on its enemy until it has effectively entrenched itself in a secure position. Even a weaker army will become powerful and invincible if they select the right field of action and guard themselves adequately. The importance of the theatre of action would be best understood if we think of the crocodile. When a crocodile is in the water it overpowers all; even an elephant may not be safe. But once it is out of water even weaker animals may be able to defeat it. Everyone, weak or small, has a place where he or she is stronger and more powerful. If that place is correctly chosen and action taken from there, one sees no reason for him to falter or fail.

The Kural under consideration focuses attention on these lines. An army need not worry too much that it is smaller in size. Numerical superiority has never been a consideration with armies that had a firm purpose and tenacity of will coupled with careful planning and timing. If one turns the pages of history, one will find that mighty armies had suffered defeat for want of proper planning, timing and the choice of battle ground. The invasion of Russia by Napoleon Bonaparte resulted in a rout for him in spite of his numerically superior and valiant army. This was because the smaller but shrewder Russian army chose the appropriate time and place for the final battle.

If this Napoleon invasion, in 1797, is too far a date to remember and too hoary an incident to recollect, let me refer you to the present ongoing war between the Tamils of Eelam and the Indian army. Going by the estimates of the Indian Government confirmed by the Sinhalese army commander and the international press, the strength of the Tamil combatants is said to be only two thousand. It is said that the Indian army now in Sri Lanka is about 100,000. This again is a conservative estimate. In spite of the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Indian army the Tamil combatants have not been mowed down. The freedom fighters have not surrendered. On the contrary the Sri Lankan government having lost faith in the capability and resolve of the Indian army and realising that the Tamil combatants are a force to be reckoned with have agreed to meet them at a table for peace negotiations.

How is it that this bunch of nondescript Tamil combatants fighting a guerrilla war managed to defy the world's fourth largest army and qualify for recognition? It is this question which the Kural under consideration seeks to answer. It is not numbers that matter. It is not even the weapon. It is the dedication, the sacrifice and the purity of purpose coupled with the choice of time and place that matter. It is this that has enabled them to succeed so far. And it is this that has endeared them to the Tamil masses in spite of the unbearable miseries brought in the wake of the war. And again, it is this that will stand them in good stead and take them to the altar of success.

Let me end this article with yet another couplet which is popular and which buttresses the Kural we reviewed.

ஞாலம் கருதினும் கைகூடும் காலம்
கருதி இடத்தாற் செயின்.

"Thou canst conquer the whole world if thou chooseth the proper time and the proper objectives" - **Translation (484)**

Ask Rani

THE NEED FOR TAMIL

[Translated from the original in Tamil]

Dear Rani,

Why is it that 98 per cent of TVI is written in English? It would be of great help if there could be a reasonable proportion of Tamil articles in TVI as more of us now living in Western countries would be able to read them. At the same time, it would enable us not to forget the Tamil language. I look forward to your reply in the "Ask Rani" column. **SRI LOGANATHAN KUMAR, PARIS,**

A *I fully agree that there should be more articles in Tamil. We are constrained by the fact that we do not, as yet, have the facilities to publish in Tamil. At present we rely on the goodwill of one of our supporters to typeset one page in Tamil. We are looking at purchasing a Tamil computer programme at a cost of around £500, and would welcome any donations that would make this a possibility. We would then be able to publish articles, poems and even the occasional editorial in our own language -that would indeed be a welcome pleasure.*

THE IPKF'S COSTS TO INDIA

Dear Rani,

Do you have any idea as to how much it has cost the Indian government to keep the IPKF forces in Tamil Eelam? It is my feeling that the people of India should be told that the money would be better spent making their lives better than taking the lives of our people. It is not only that, but so many Indians have lost their lives fighting a war not to defend their land, but on soil that is ours, not theirs. Surely this is madness. **SHANTHINI VIKRAM, LEEDS, ENGLAND**

A *Yes, the whole IPKF exercise defies logic. I understand that India has spent more than Rs12 billion on the IPKF forces, and the current rate of spending on the IPKF is Rs20 million a day. That amount of money would indeed feed many a mouth, upgrade many a road, and provide many a well. It is not only the forces on land that are involved, but the air force which has been transporting men and material to various parts of Sri Lanka, and the navy which has kept watch on the escape and supply routes of the LTTE. A substantial amount has been spent on accommodation which has been leased for periods of two to three years. Large sums have been paid for compensation, insurance and death during the operations. Insofar as casualties are concerned, the IPKF headquarters has put the figure at 3950 -857 dead and 3093 injured. It is madness all right.*

PLANTATION TAMIL VOTING RIGHTS

Dear Rani,

After many years of fighting for their political rights, it seems that plantation Tamils are to get the vote. As was pointed out in an article by Sundari on the plight of plantation Tamils repatriated to India (TVI, vol 2, no 1) only a few such as Thanthai Chelva fought for their rights. At last some of them have got their rights, though I am not sure how many. Could you please give me any further details? **S.K. SEBARATNAM, WEST BERLIN**

A *The Sri Lankan government is to provide voting rights to about 320,000 plantation Tamils who were granted citizenship last November, through an amendment to the Registration of Electors Act. The bill granting the voting rights was passed in parliament with 234 votes in favour, and 59 abstentions. The SLFP abstained from voting, Mrs Bandaranaike's explanation being: "We do not oppose giving them voting rights. However, there are bottlemen, paper sellers and illicit immigrants coming here." There is little basis for such allegations in the light of the fact that the bill has barely put right a historical injustice. I should point out that the citizenship legislation last year did not cover about 160,000 other plantation Tamils who sought Indian citizenship several years ago but are now largely in favour of Sri Lankan citizenship.*

PROVINCIAL COUNCIL LEGAL MESS

Dear Rani,

What has happened to the devolution of powers under Provincial Councils? We know of course that the EPRLF has little credibility and could not even win the majority of seats in the parliamentary elections. But are the promised powers yet another promise that a Sinhala government is not going to honour? Please do not think that I am supportive of the Provincial Councils, but I would like to know what is happening about them. **A. SURESH, DUNDEE**

A *The Sri Lankan government's attempts to expedite implementation of the package for devolution of powers has run into legal problems. The government thought that when it sent the proposed Provincial Council (Consequential Provisions) Bill to the Supreme Court it would be a mere formality. The SLFP and three Sinhala organisations, however, have challenged the constitutional validity of the bill and sought a verdict that would force the government to hold a national referendum. A representative of the Sinhala Radical Party is reported to have said that the bill sought to circumvent the constitutional safeguards provided by the 13th amendment. The last time that the Supreme Court decided that a national referendum was necessary for a constitutional amendment was in 1979 when a ruling party member was unseated in an election petition, and the government wanted to amend the constitution so that he could continue as a member of parliament. When the Supreme Court favoured a referendum, the government got cold feet and asked the member to resign. If a referendum verdict is given this time, the government will face a serious challenge as the entire devolution process will come to a standstill.*

RESOLVED BY THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE - 1989

1. REAFFIRMATION

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Bearing constantly in mind its solemn and inviolate responsibility to the Tamil people and Tamil Eelam;

Mindful of the daily heroism, triumphs and sacrifices made by our fellow Tamils in Tamil Eelam, especially our vanguard, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam;

Mindful also of the trust and confidence placed in it by the Tamil community;

Taking into account the mandate of the overwhelming majority of Tamil people for Tamil Eelam;

Recalling its five resolutions of the First International Tamil Conference;

1. **Reaffirms the five resolutions of the First International Tamil Conference,**
2. **Reaffirms in particular the resolution recognising Velupillai Prabaharan and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as the true leaders of the Tamil Eelam struggle, the right of we the Tamil people to self-determination, and our unwavering resolve in our struggle for national liberation.**

* * * * * * *

2. NEGOTIATIONS

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Noting the negotiations now taking place in Colombo, between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the government of Sri Lanka;

1. **Most strongly supports the LTTE negotiators,**
2. **Urges all other governments to assist and support, in whatever way they deem appropriate, in the achievement of a just and lasting settlement.**

* * * * * * *

3. SELF-DETERMINATION

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Resolutely confirming the right to self-determination of the Tamil people;

Seriously concerned by acts of the governments of India and Sri Lanka that violate our right to self-determination;

Concerned also that the continued violation of the right to self-determination of the Tamil people threatens the peace and security of the world and undermines world order;

Acutely aware that in an essentially identical situation, viz. the entry of foreign troops into an existing civil war in Afghanistan, the United Nations addressed that situation as an issue of self- determination, yet has failed similarly to address the entry of foreign troops into Sri Lanka;

Recognising that the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 29 July 1987, entered into without agreement of the aggrieved party, has proved to be a substantial obstacle to the realisation of the aspirations of the Tamil people of Ceylon, has gravely worsened the situation of human rights in all parts of Ceylon, has resulted in escalation of the armed conflict between combatants for Tamil national liberation and opposing governments and groups, and has made a mockery of the principles of democracy;

Seriously disturbed by the continuance of a policy of relocation of Sinhala people into Tamil areas with an end to alter the demographic composition in Tamil Eelam in contravention of the Tamil peoples' right to self-determination and relevant rules of humanitarian law;

1. **Demands that the governments of India and Sri Lanka respect the just aspirations of the Tamil people to fully realise their right to self-determination,**
2. **Demands that the governments of India and Sri Lanka, all other governments, international organisations, and non-governmental organisations fully recognise the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam as the only national liberation force of Tamil Eelam,**
3. **Calls upon the parties to the conflict to enter into an immediate cease-fire with no preconditions,**
4. (a) **Calls upon the government of India immediately to withdraw all troops from combat or combat-readiness, and to begin an orderly and independently supervised removal from Ceylon,**

   (b) **Calls upon the government of Sri Lanka immediately withdraw all troops from combat or combat-readiness, and to begin an orderly and independently supervised removal from the area consisting of Tamil Eelam**
5. **Calls upon the government of Sri Lanka to repeal recently - enacted statutes relating to provincial councils due to their patent inadequacy to protect Tamil interests,**
6. **Demands a permanent abandonment of the proposed referendum in the Eastern province as being directly in violation of the right to self-determination of the Tamil people,**
7. **Demands that the presently-constituted North-East Provincial Council be dissolved forthwith, and that an interim administration in conformity with the agreement of September 1987 between the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam be installed until such time as there are properly constituted elections agreed to by all relevant parties,**
8. **Demands that the government of Sri Lanka immediately reverse its policy of relocation of Sinhala people into Tamil Eelam.**

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4. TAMIL EELAM

The Second International Tamil Conference

Recognising the fact that all Tamil militant groups and political parties have referred to certain areas of Ceylon as Tamil Eelam;

Recognising the fact that all Tamils and most people in India as well as a large number of the news media refer to those same areas of Ceylon as Tamil Eelam, and that the agreement between the governments of India and Sri Lanka refer to those areas as the "historical habitations of the Tamil- speaking people";

Calls upon all the governments and in particular the governments of India and Sri Lanka, all world bodies, and all world media, to refer to the area comprising the erstwhile Northern and Eastern provinces of Ceylon as Tamil Eelam.

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5. VIOLATIONS

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Bearing in mind the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other human rights instruments, the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and all treaty-based and customary human rights and humanitarian law;

Gravely concerned that the on-going violations of the rights of Tamil people by the governments of Sri Lanka and India, especially those committed in the course of armed conflict, constitute gross violations of human rights and war crimes in international law;

Profoundly convinced that the underlying cause of these violations arises from the refusal to recognise the inherent right of the Tamil people to self-determination;

1. **Condemns the governments of India and Sri Lanka for the intolerable oppression of the Tamil people,**
2. **Especially condemns the governments of India and Sri Lanka for grave breaches of the rules of armed conflict:**
   - **(a) failure to take and properly hold prisoners-of-war,**
   - **(b) indiscriminate attacks on the civilian population,**
   - **(c) attacks on medical facilities,**
   - **(d) destruction of facilities and structures comprising part of the cultural heritage of the Tamil people,**
   - **(e) denial of medical care to sick and wounded combatants and civilians, and**
   - **(f) refusal to allow impartial humanitarian organisations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, to carry out relief operations in conformity with United Nations Commission on Human Rights resolution 1987/61,**
3. **Demands the immediate release of all seriously wounded combatants of Tamil Eelam now held in custody by the governments of India and Sri Lanka,**
4. **Demands that the governments of India and Sri Lanka cease all breaches of humanitarian law, such as those enumerated above, and all violations of human rights related to the oppression of the Tamil people, such as torture, illegal detention, rape, pillage, denial of judicial remedy, and indefensible reliance on legislation (the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other acts) that violates international norms,**
5. **Requests the World Federation of Tamils to circulate this resolution as widely as possible in the Tamil and international communities, with particular emphasis on the United Nations and the Commonwealth.**

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6. PLANTATION TAMILS

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Bearing in mind the situation of plantation Tamils, who were settled in Sri Lanka by the British colonialists in the Ceylon tea and rubber estates with their settlement dating back over 150 years, and who were unjustly deported to India under successive pacts between the Indian and Sri Lankan governments in violation of established international conventions and practice;

1. **Demands that the Indian government take immediate steps to have the unjustly deported plantation Tamils returned to Ceylon,**
2. **Demands that the governments of India and Sri Lanka take appropriate measures to ensure safety, security and full citizenship for all plantation Tamils who were settled in Ceylon at the time of independence in 1948 and their descendants,**
3. **Demands that the governments of India and Sri Lanka take adequate measures to secure for Tamils living in the Ceylon plantations their full human rights, including their right to democracy and their full right to participate in government.**

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7. UNITED NATIONS CONSULTATIVE STATUS

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Bearing in mind the three serious requests of the World Federation of Tamils to the United Nations Secretary-General to be granted consultative status by being placed on his Roster list;

Acknowledging the failure of the United Nations Secretary-General to respond to these requests;

continued on page 13

EELAM thoughts

Kurushetran

THE INEVITABILITY OF TAMIL EELAM - 4

When the history of Tamil Eelam comes to be written, May- June-July 1987 will demand a separate chapter. That period will illustrate how history can alter its course - like a river running evenly, suddenly encountering a major obstruction, swiftly changing direction, the waters rushing at a pace speedier than before. Rivers, as the late Ceylonese Prime Minister Solomon Bandaranaike used to say, never flow backwards.

Let us review the events of that 3-month period not only in terms of contemporary assessments (because they lose validity over a period of time) but also from a removed historical perspective; as one would see it ten, twenty years hence. Looked at through contemporary vision, that period chalks up three features that *look* significant.

MACHIAVELLIAN DIPLOMACY

First: It brought about a vital triumph for the Indian government's Machiavellian diplomacy, a phrase many Indians might not approve, but its end-results they heartily endorse. It meant a break- through in the attainment of India's regional super-power ambitions. She was able to land her formidable military armour into a neighbouring country (a SAARC member) without causing a ripple in international government circles, and what was more, with open approval of the US government. She was able to maintain successfully the popular illusion that it was a "Peace-Keeping Force" (the name helped), although the motive was apparent to anyone who cared to read the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement; it was to disarm the Liberation Tigers, even at the cost of war. Hence the enormous deployment of troops, unprecedented in the history of Peace-Keeping operations. A knowledgeable Indian commentator estimated the strength of Indian military involved in the "peace-keeping" operations in March 1988 at a 100,000 (Ravi Rikhye, *The Week*, March 13-19, 1988).

Second: New Delhi was able to bring the Sri Lankan government into a position of submission and circumscribe the latter's foreign policy options, as well as directions. Even the wily old fox of a President, Junius Richard Jayewardene, was for once outwitted in his own game. Had he thought like that celebrated 16th century Florentine political theorist Niccholo Machiavelli that "only a fool fights his own battles" and invited New Delhi to do it, that was clever. But he did not, and neither did New Delhi, get their calculations right on 'Tiger' tenacity. He did realise perhaps that those who volunteer to fight others' battles expect a heavy price for it. Under the Agreement the price was his style of foreign policy, which price he was prepared to pay. But the saddest miscalculation came in Clause 2.9 of the Agreement which stated with breezy superciliousness: "All arms presently held by militant groups *will be surrendered* in accordance with an agreed procedure to authorities to be designated by the Government of Sri Lanka."... and "the process of surrendering of arms and the confining of security personnel and moving back to barracks shall be completed within 72 hours of the cessation of hostilities coming into effect." Once that went awry, nothing else went right until October 1987, and in fact in that month everything went wrong. Today, Sri Lanka and Jayewardene's successor government are called upon to pay a much higher price than what was understood in the Agreement - a virtual abandonment of their sovereignty over a part of their legalistic territory.

INDIA HASTENS BIRTH OF TAMIL EELAM

Third: The often repeated assessment that the Liberation Tigers have been militarily marginalised (which any way sounds less and less convincing with the passage of time) logically leads to the presumption in New Delhi's official circles that a crushing blow had been dealt to a freedom movement in their country's backyard. They have good reason to luxuriate over it, because a backyard it might be, but a very sensitive one nevertheless. They could hardly countenance any interaction of such a movement in their own state of Tamil Nadu with its history of a secessionist cry at one time. Indian policy- makers are also able to lay claim to the premise that they have helped to preserve the "territorial integrity" - the favourite phraseology of oppressive governments everywhere - of a "friendly" neighbouring government. There is a sense of moral satisfaction in that claim, but no one seems to ask how it becomes the business of one country to preserve the "territorial integrity" of another. **Curiously, no one in India found a need to preserve the "territorial integrity" of another neighbouring country, Pakistan, when their country marched its army into that country in 1971, dismembered the East from the West, and created a new State called Bangladesh?** Apart from the question of principled political behaviour, seen even from a subjective point of view, the Sri Lankans (the Sinhalese) had always displayed the same hatred towards India as the Pakistanis, a hatred more durable because it goes back to several centuries. It was symbolised by the very act of a lowly Sinhala naval rating in Colombo raising his rifle barrel-end in an attempted murderous attack on the Indian Prime Minister. What a taste of a "friendly" neighbour! (Even Mr Ram who, as Editor of *The Hindu*, a paper once known for its sobriety, and who sometimes behaves as if **he** - not the Prime Minister of India - was the co-signatory to the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, captioned the photograph of the attempted murderous attack as "A shocking episode" and a "politically revealing moment" (*Frontline*, August 8-21, 1987). Well, as I said, Indian officialdom is going on the "presumption" that they had dealt a mortal blow to the Tamil Eelam movement. *My submission here is that, on the contrary, they had unwittingly hastened the birth of a Tamil homeland.* The 2-year occupation of the Indian army exclusively in the north-east of the island, and the area's virtual insulation in terms of political fiat from the rest of the island, has only helped to re-define and perpetuate the territory of the future Tamil Eelam. Either that, or it could point to the possibility of a future *de jure* annexation of the Tamil homeland to the Indian subcontinent. That would be a frightening policy option to nurse; it could turn out to be New Delhi's final miscalculation to crown its series of miscalculations during these past two years. After all, Tamil Eelam is not Sikkim.

DIXIT'S MIXTURE OF DIPLOMACY, DUPLICITY & DIKTAT

When Mr J N Dixit, one week before he ended his troubled term as Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, said at a farewell function: "The logic of a Tamil Eelam might become relevant again if the Sri Lankan government fails to devolve power to the North-East Provincial Council....." (*Indian Express* April 9, 1989), he was perhaps only delivering a parting shot at the Premadasa government on behalf of the Indian protege administration at Trincomalee. He was certainly not indicating any change of policy approach on the part of the Indian government on the Eelam question. The Tamils will have no illusions on that. But while holding out an implied threat, he was sensible enough to exercise a *live* threat, not an empty one. Where he was inaccurate was in saying that the logic of a Tamil Eelam might become relevant *"again."* The logic and relevance were always there, even before that day of the formal declaration for Tamil Eelam at Vaddukkoddai on 14th May, 1976. What has happened was that, while Colombo, and later Delhi, sought to deny the logic and work against its increasing relevance, every policy step taken by both, while bringing more suffering to the Tamil people, has also brought the goal of Tamil Eelam nearer. Hence the necessity to assess developments in historical depth, instead of seeing them in fleeting day-to-day events. **The moral here is that it is not possible even by governments, to cheat a historical process. The steps taken by the Indian government in those three months of May-June-July 1987, calculated as they were, and combining a mixture of diplomacy, duplicity, and diktat, while bringing a temporary sense of triumph to the policy-makers, have now proved counter-productive. The Accord is in shambles and the IPKF discredited.** Both the Sri Lankan and Indian governments have pushed themselves and each other into intractable positions, and into a situation of a stalemate, as in chess, where neither party is in a position to win. A new game has to begin, and its very opening gambit has to involve Tamil Eelam. At the time of my writing this (the third week of April 1989), even the players have changed. The Indian government has been taken off from play. Those at the chess board are President Premadasa and the Liberation Tigers; just shows that even that final act of diplomacy on the part of Mr Dixit has boomeranged.

TIWARIAN TEARDROP

A quick resume of events during May-June-July 1987 as reflected in the British Press reveals either vacillation, or duplicity, or both, on the part of New Delhi policy-makers. On May 26, President Jayewardene began his full-scale battle for Jaffna. Earlier, by April 22 itself, Sri Lankan war planes had begun bombing guerrilla outposts in Jaffna with such deadly inaccuracy that heavy civilian casualties resulted, more than guerrilla deaths. On May 25, *The Times, London,* quoting the government controlled *Sunday Observer* in Colombo said, ".... Meanwhile, India has reportedly given Colombo the go-ahead for a military crackdown on the Tamil guerrilla group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. The newspaper said that the LTTE had thwarted all diplomatic efforts by Delhi to end the separatist conflict. It added that Delhi was likely to publicly deny that it has given such a go-ahead because of possible political repercussions in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu...". *The Guardian (London)* of the same date, merely reported that the Sri Lankan government was waiting to see what message Indian High Commissioner Dixit was bringing from Delhi. The day after the assault on Jaffna began, Indian Foreign Minister Narayan Tiwari made a statement in which he said, "The (Indian) Government expresses its grave concern and sorrow at the widespread civilian suffering and casualties which are bound to be caused by this action of the Sri Lanka government...". He added, "The consequences of this onslaught on the long-suffering Tamil population of Jaffna will be tragic. Even at this late stage, the Government of India urges the Sri Lanka Government to realise the long-term dangers of the military option and undertake measures to restore the trust and confidence of its Tamil citizens." (Admirable sentiments full of wisdom, but can somebody explain how this wisdom deserted the Solomons of South Block when five months later the IPKF subjected "the long- suffering Tamil population of Jaffna" to a more vicious onslaught?)

In Colombo, President Jayewardene was apparently not impressed by the Tiwarian teardrop. As the offensive continued, he was reported as saying (*The Independent, London 28 May),* "We have decided to fight them and that will go on until they win or we win... We have taken three or four years to get ready... Everything must be put into winning this war, if I may call it war." On May 28, Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M G Ramachandran made an air-dash to Delhi, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi issued a stern warning: **"The time to desist from a military occupation of Jaffna is now. Later may be too late. From the rubble and ashes there can only arise the total alienation of an entire people, a more determined militancy and more extreme options."** (Stirring words - the kind that goes down to history, but alas, so ill-matched with action and so violently contradictory to the rubble and ashes that the IPKF left in Jaffna during the October-November-December months of the same year, that these words can now remain only as a monument to duplicity!).

On May 31, Tavleen Singh reporting from Delhi to *The Sunday Times (London)* said, "Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, was under increasing pressure yesterday to intervene militarily in Sri Lanka where fighting between government forces and Tamil rebels has continued. Unconfirmed reports in Delhi suggested that several hundred Indian paratroopers had already been airlifted to the southern city of Madras in readiness for an attack. The reports which a senior Indian government source refused to confirm or deny, said the paratroopers would be used if Sri Lankan forces continued to bomb the Tamil city of Jaffna. The source told *The Sunday Times,* "The Sri Lankan government has behaved in a deliberately provocative manner. We are considering what our options are in the situation. Naturally we cannot just sit back and watch ... The authorities in Delhi and Madras, the Tamil Nadu capital, are particularly worried about the fate of Velupillai Prabaharan, the leader of the Tamil Tigers separatists, who is believed to be caught within a military cordon that security forces have thrown around his home-town ... For Rajiv the military offensive reflects the failure of his Sri Lankan policy over the past two years. Despite advice to the contrary, he has continued to negotiate in the belief that the Sri Lankan government wanted a political solution...".

(To be continued)

"IF WE LOSE ONE SOLDIER, VVT WILL BE RAZED TO THE GROUND"

Major Kapoor, IPKF

[We reproduce below an affidavit which is self- explanatory.]

I, Thirugnana Sambanthar Veluppillai, of "Kechchar Vasa" Valvettithurai, age 54, Justice of the Peace, Inquirer into Sudden Deaths, Vadamaradchy, Sri Lankan Tamil, being a Hindu, do hereby solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm as follows:-

1. I am the affirmant above-named.

2. On Thursday, 19.1.89, I was indisposed and was confined to my residence. I was resting in a bed in the hall of my house when at about 11-30a.m I observed through the bottom portion of the gate people being assaulted and being marched towards the junction from the direction of Point Pedro by the Indian Peace Keeping Force soldiers. I also heard the groaning of the people being marched. At the same time I saw some soldiers banging on the gate. I called my wife and told her to open the gate. I got up from bed, put on a shirt and walked up to the front verandah. My wife opened the gate and about 4 or 5 soldiers entered the compound shouting "Paiyan, paiyan" ('paiyan' is a Tamil word meaning boy). The soldiers were armed with knives, wooden rods and guns. My wife got scared and came back to the verandah where I was standing. The soldiers shouted "come out" a number of times. I clung on to my wife and told the soldiers in English, "I am an old person. I am an Inquirer into Sudden Deaths in the Vadamaradchy area" and showed them the board located just behind the front wall on which this fact is painted - written - in English and Tamil. This board is in a very conspicuous position and could be seen by anyone entering my house or even walking along the road. In front of my wife two soldiers assaulted me a number of times with the wooden rods. As I was clinging on to my wife, only about 3 or 4 blows fell on me, which I warded off with my left hand. One of the blows damaged the wrist watch that I was wearing. In order to separate me from my wife, the soldiers pulled me by my shirt which got torn in the process. I was pulled to the road by the soldiers who kept on assaulting me. My wife told me in Tamil, "go outside, otherwise they may kill you." When I reached the road, I ran a short distance towards the junction. The soldiers then pushed me to the ground and started assaulting me again with the wooden rods. They then dragged me to the middle of the tarred road and made me lie face upwards. They kept on assaulting me with the wooden rods till they noticed blood oozing from the back side of my left palm. Then they stopped assaulting me and ordered me to join the group of youths, young men and old men numbering about 100 marching in single file towards the junction. I observed that almost all these persons had bleeding injuries. The junction is about 150 metres from my house. After we reached the junction all of us were ordered to stand on the road in the hot sun. We were then joined by many more injured persons who were being marched towards the junction along the three main roads leading to it. After about 45 minutes, about 25 old persons were ordered to squat in the shade inside the damaged new market building. While squatting in the shade, I noticed many more injured persons joining those already at the junction. At the same time, I saw the soldiers keeping on assaulting the persons who were being marched towards the junction. I then heard someone ordering those squatting in the shade to turn the other side as we were watching the hammerings. When I was squatting in the shade, I saw and heard Major Kapoor, Commander of the IPKF camp at Oorikkaadu, Valvettithurai, standing near me and shouting "You bastards, you take pride in supporting the LTTE. Your mothers are bitches. You don't know the value of IPKF blood. If we lose one soldier you will get this type of treatment and the whole houses in Valvettithurai will be razed to ground level." At about 1-30 p.m I saw a number of jeeps and trucks coming to the junction from the direction of Uduppiddy. There were soldiers in them. Immediately the hammering of those at the junction stopped. A little later, Major Pathmanaban came near us and called out a few elderly persons and told us to go home after giving us a small piece of advice. I then got up and went home. From the time the assault on me started in my house, I was groaning in pain due to the severe flogging I received and also due to the blood oozing from my left palm. When I returned home I noticed that the eekil broom and the fibre broom which were there had been cut and the sticks removed. I may have been assaulted with these too. I was warded in the Valvettithurai hospital from 19.1.89 (BHT.201/201) to 21.1.89 on which date I was discharged. I am still continuing OPD treatment (ticket No.4212). The injuries suffered by me are as follows:

1. Laceration of left palm - back side.
2. Laceration of left shoulder.
3. Contusion of left forearm and wrist.
4. Contusion of right parietal region of head.
5. Contusion of all over back of body.
6. Contusion of left thigh.
7. Contusion of abdominal wall.
8. Pain all over the body.
9. Fever off and on as a result of above-mentioned injuries.

During my life, this is the first time that I have been mercilessly assaulted in this manner and that too in front of my wife. I felt humiliated. I have suffered pain of mind. My reputation has been badly affected. As an Inquirer into Sudden Deaths, I exercise certain judicial functions.

Declared and affirmed at Valvettithurai
Sgd T Veluppillai
this 31st day of January 1989.
Declarant
Before me
Sgd.---------
1989-01-31 Justice of the Peace

RESOLVED BY THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE - 1989

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1. **Urges the World Federation of Tamils to request yet again that the United Nations Secretary-General grant it consultative status on his Roster,**
2. **Urges the United Nations Secretary-General to grant the request of the World Federation of Tamils for consultative status on his Roster,**
3. **Calls on the international community to support the request of the World Federation of Tamils for consultative status on the United Nations Secretary-General's Roster.**

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8. INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Alarmed by the overwhelming immediate resource needs of the Tamil people and our national struggle, including organisational requirements, the carrying out of our international agenda, information and publicity, and other needs related to winning our liberation in conformity with our right to self-determination;

Aware of the development needs of Tamil Eelam, in part due to the neglect by successive Governments of Sri Lanka since independence and in part due to the indiscriminate destruction of our properties; cultural artifacts and structures; educational and medical facilities; and agricultural, fishing and other industries by the armed forces of both Sri Lanka and India;

Recognising the outstanding achievements of members of the international Tamil community in the areas of medicine, education, engineering, technology, agriculture and international finance;

Taking responsibility for the serious resource needs of the Tamil national struggle and the future needs of Tamil Eelam;

1. **Decides to form an International Resources Committee within the World Federation of Tamils, which in turn will establish National & Regional Resources Committees,**
2. **Decides that the International Resources Committee will carry out a full programme of fund raising activities and resource development from all sources possible, with the specific goal of funding the on-going struggle for Tamil Eelam, alleviating the suffering of the Tamil people, and assisting the Tamil people in developing economic, social and cultural self-sufficiency as a nation.**

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9. TAMIL EELAM CULTURAL CENTRE

The Second International Tamil Conference.

Bearing in mind that culture is the expression of a people that clearly distinguishes it from another people;

Having regard to the prominent role of culture in the main tenence of a nation;

Mindful that with the demise of culture, the nation of which it is an expression also dies;

Profoundly disturbed that the on-going war and the inhuman activities against Tamil people and their culture have threatened the continuance of the Tamil people;

Bearing in mind the urgent need to create an awareness of the Tamil Eelam struggle and the Tamil culture;

Recognising the importance of the Tamil language in the promotion and protection of the Tamil culture;

Recognising that the international Tamil community has a duty to preserve and propagate the culture of the Tamil people;

1. **Decides to establish the Tamil Eelam Cultural Centre, under the auspices of the World Federation of Tamils.**
2. **Further decides that the Tamil Eelam Cultural Centre will be charged with:**
   - **(a) collecting and disseminating documents relevant to the Tamil culture and the Tamil Eelam struggle;**
   - **(b) encouraging the support and development of Tamil writers, artists and scholars;**
   - **(c) encouraging and co-ordinating the activities of Tamil cultural organisations throughout the world.**

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10. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF TAMIL EELAM

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Bearing constantly in mind the daily sufferings of the Tamil people, in Eelam and abroad, due to violations of our rights under human rights law, humanitarian (armed conflict) law and refugee law;

Mindful of the need to defend the full rights of all individual Tamils and to carry out the Tamil national agenda;

Aware of the pressing needs to represent Tamil interests at local, regional, Commonwealth and United Nations forums;

Acknowledging its responsibility to the Tamil people and Tamil Eelam,

1. **Decides to establish the Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam, within the structure of the World Federation of Tamils.**
2. **Further decides that the mandate of the Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam shall include, but not be limited to:**

continued on page 14

RESOLVED BY THE 2ND INTERNATIONAL TAMIL CONFERENCE - 1989

continued from page 13

(a) **Forming the Tamil human rights policy, in consultation with as wide a range of interests and points of view as feasible.**

(b) **Collecting and preparing relevant information and reports, in conjunction with the Centre for Tamil Affairs.**

(c) **Developing and maintaining a scheme of communications, document transmittal, and operations with the United Nations Secretary-General, other offices in the Secretariat, and relevant United Nations bodies.**

(d) **Developing and maintaining a scheme of communications, document transmittal and operations with governments.**

(e) **Developing and maintaining a scheme of communications, document transmittal and operations with non-governmental organizations, including those with consultative status at the United Nations. Special attention should be paid to the International Committee of the Red Cross as long as the armed conflict continues and humanitarian law violations occur. Until such time as the World Federation of Tamils has its own consultative status at the United Nations, the Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam will explore association with existing organizations having UN status to ensure full representation of Tamil affairs by Tamils.**

(f) **Representing Tamil Eelam at relevant local, regional or international human rights conferences, meetings, and events.**

3. **Requests the Commission on Human Rights of Tamil Eelam to investigate the feasibility of holding an International War Crimes Tribunal to address the grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and other treaty-based and customary humanitarian law norms committed by the governments of India and Sri Lanka in the course of military operations against the Tamil people,**

4. **Requests the Commission on Human Rights of Tamil Eelam to investigate the feasibility of sending medical teams of doctors, nurses and equipment to war-torn areas of Tamil Eelam, with a view to alleviate the war-caused injuries of the people,**

5. **Requests the Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam to address the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat regarding access to address the next meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government, to be held in Kuala Lumpur, in October, 1989, to send a delegation to the meeting, and to take any and all further action with the Commonwealth in the interests of Tamil Eelam.**

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11. SOLIDARITY

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Deeply moved by the struggles of all oppressed peoples;

Gratefully aware of the support given to the Tamil Eelam struggle by organisations and national liberation movements of other oppressed peoples;

1. **Expresses its support and solidarity with all peoples suffering under oppressive, foreign, colonial, racist or apartheid regimes,**

2. **Requests the Centre for Tamil Affairs, in co-ordination with the Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam, to develop and maintain a regular programme of co-operation and mutual support with oppressed peoples and their organisations.**

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12. CENTRE FOR TAMIL AFFAIRS

The Second International Tamil Conference,

Acutely aware of the enormous task of collecting and disseminating information about the Tamil Eelam struggle and the situation of the Tamil people;

Firmly convinced of the need to develop and coordinate media relations, with an end to generate favourable media representation of the Tamil Eelam struggle;

Also firmly convinced of the need to plan and carry out events at the local, regional and international level, with an end to publicise urgent concerns of the Tamil community, demonstrate convincing presence in the international community and to assist in generating solidarity among all Tamils for the Tamil Eelam struggle;

1. **Decides to immediately form an information and publicity committee to eventually become Centre for Tamil Affairs, within the structure of the World Federation of Tamils,**

2. **Decides that the Centre for Tamil Affairs will carry out, as part of its mandate, a full programme of media relations, information gathering and document preparation, and the planning and carrying out of local, regional and international events to publicise the Tamil national struggle,**

3. **Decides that the Centre for Tamil Affairs will coordinate its activities with the International Resource Committee, and with the Human Rights Commission of Tamil Eelam.**

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COLOMBO REVERBERATES TO GROWL OF TIGERS

by Suranimala

In a dramatic move on Wednesday the Government airlifted three Tiger negotiators and their fully armed bodyguards from the wild jungles of Mullaitivu to the star class comfort of Colombo's Hilton Hotel.

It was on Wednesday (3rd May) towards midday that the newspaper offices of the Island, Sun, Daily News and Virakesari were informed by the Information Department to have a journalist report to the J.O.C. Headquarters to cover this great 'media event'.

The Tigers too had planned a propaganda exercise on the peace talks. They had requested the authorities to bring four foreign correspondents on this mission. But the authorities did not like the choice. While the 4 correspondents who had been informed by the LTTE were kicking their heels, the authorities took four journalists from local newspapers.

The Airforce helicopter, Bell 212 carrying LTTE theoretician Anton Balasingham and his wife Adela, ASP Eric Perera of the National Intelligence Bureau and the pressmen took off from the Army grounds at 1.57 p.m.

ASP Perera, the man dealing with the LTTE for the National Intelligence Bureau specialised in covering the LTTE for the NIB when based in Batticaloa. He was carrying with him some communication equipment for Dr Balasingham on the flight.

As the Bell 212 hovered over the jungles of Mullaitivu at about 3.00 p.m., Dr Balasingham used the communication equipment to make contact with the Tigers. There was momentary panic when he failed to make contact but within minutes, the radio crackled into life as a signal to land in a demarcated area in the jungle of Nedunkerni in Mullaitivu was received. The delay was due to the communication being jammed, possibly by IPKF action, it was later surmised.

Nedunkerni and Nithikkaikulam in the Mullaitivu jungles are two of the areas which were well known LTTE hide-outs. The Tigers had withdrawn from their areas some time earlier after the IPKF began pounding these areas.

Attack on IPKF

The Tiger leadership was hesitant to surface in fear of being spotted by the Indians. However they cleverly planned out their strategy by running dummy operations and outfoxing the Indians.

The Tigers first triggered off incidents in Vavuniya. They began by attacking an IPKF guardpost on the Mullaitivu-Vavuniya road early in the week killing one IPKF soldier. Three quarter miles away from this point were two houses in Vavuniya town which the IPKF had converted into detention centres. These were guarded by the Command Reserve Police Force.

The Tigers then attacked one of these detention centres soon after the inmates had finished their dinner. The Mayhem that followed these attacks resulted in the IPKF imposing a curfew that night. IPKF soldiers were deployed to search the area. The LTTE responded by sniping at an IPKF soldier. The following day due to the curfew, there was a slackening in the bus service.

The LTTE then raised a bogey that their leaders were evacuating the Vavuniya jungles. The Indians lost no time in deploying troops to capture the evacuating Tigers. The IPKF even carried photographs of Kittu and Mahaththaya and inquired from people in buses whether they had seen these people in the pictures anywhere in that area.

The Tigers meanwhile worked the diversion and 80 of them trekked the long miles to Nedunkerni and waited for the airlift.

Tigers film strategic areas

Though the local newshounds were not allowed to take any photographic equipment with them on the flight, this was not a handicap experienced by the Tigers. No sooner the chopper landed, there was one Tiger TV cameraman and at least three other photographers at hand, ready to record the events.

And they lost no time either. They were well tuned to the situation. While the group that left Colombo was enjoying the hospitality of the Tigers nibbling as they were on chocolates and drinking Thambili with straws - the Tiger cameramen were busy photographing the two helicopters from all angles. They also took close-ups of all those who arrived in the choppers. Twenty two minutes later, after the Tigers had completed their filming, and the Colombo team, their chocolates and Thambili, Dr Balasingham requested that the nine Tigers i.e., the three negotiators, five bodyguards and one cameraman, fly in one chopper.

For the Tigers, their business had already commenced. For them, it was not just a matter of negotiating a devolution package in Colombo, but they were also indulging in an exercise of intelligence gathering.

The Tiger cameraman was busy throughout the flight. He filmed the take- off and the chopper landing at the Sri Lanka Airforce base for refuelling. While the pilots were busy attending to the re-fuelling, the cameraman too kept busy filming the airfield, including the fuel tank farm, control tower and all the other surroundings.

He did not stop there. Soon after, as the two choppers were airborne again he began filming the aerial view, including the entrance gates and the officer billets.

The next stop was Colombo

Here too, it was the Tigers who were first off the mark. Dressed in jungle fatigues, the five Tiger bodyguards jumped off the chopper the moment it landed with their AK-47 weapons raised and surrounded the chopper. The Sri Lankan security forces too were present at the scene.

The Tiger approach was the first clear indication that though entering into a dialogue, they did not trust the government. An exercise of this nature is carried out on the basis of mutual trust, but the Tiger action clearly showed their lack of trust. They had in fact arrogated to themselves the role of the Sri Lankan security forces.

In fact, during the stage of negotiations to get the Tigers to Colombo, the LTTE insisted their bodyguards should also come and the government agreed after much haggling.

At the Army Grounds to cover the Tiger arrival was the world media and the LTTE had scored their first propaganda victory with the Information Department itself playing into their hands, to make their arrival the big media event it was.

The Tigers thus showed to the world that they did not want the Sri Lankan President to come to them blindfolded, but that they were prepared in their quest for 'peace at the risk of their lives to come to Colombo, the heart of 'Sinhala rule.'

The Sri Lankan government for its part was disappointed at the composition of the Tiger team. The government expected LTTE heavyweights like Mahaththaya and Kittu to be in the negotiating team.

Wife plays a prominent role

When the LTTE first agreed to negotiate with the government, Tiger leader Prabakaran named his mentor Anton Balasingham - a British citizen as his nominee.

The government naturally presumed that the LTTE heavyweights would be joining the talks as it progressed. It now appears the Australian wife of Dr Balasingham is also playing a prominent role in the on going peace deal. She was specifically mentioned as a delegate of the Tigers which met the President in a press release from none other than the Presidential Secretariat.

The Tigers say the LTTE top-rungers save Yogi did not join the negotiating team because they had to trek several miles to reach the designated spot in Mullaitivu and it was too much of a risk in view of the IPKF operations. However, it is believed the real reason for the Tigers sending a C Team was because so far the government too had not thrown in their heavyweights into the negotiations.

When the ministers met on Wednesday night, State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne briefed his colleagues on the arrival of the Tigers. While it is very significant that the Tigers have at this juncture chosen to negotiate with the government, it is equally significant to study the reasons behind their sudden change of heart.

The government first made an appeal together with a Presidential amnesty and a ceasefire to both the JVP and the LTTE on April 10. It went on to designate 250 centres where the armed youths throughout the country could surrender. Both the JVP and LTTE rejected outright this offer by the government. On the contrary, it was marked with a bomb explosion in Trincomalee which killed 48 civillians followed by the massacre of 21 Sri Lankan soldiers in Weli Oya.

However, on the same day the Weli Oya massacre took place the government once again called the LTTE for talks. This was after the LTTE's open letter to the President. On this occasion the government's call was unconditional and there was no reference to any surrender.

It was to this appeal that the LTTE responded positively to the surprise of everyone. What had got the LTTE theoreticians thinking was the last paragraph in this appeal which read: "When a nation is wracked in internal conflict, only outsiders will reap the benefits."

The LTTE had taken the view that despite Mr Premadasa's antagonism towards India during his tenure as Prime Minister, he was now slowly building his bridges with India and that if it went too far, they would not be able to get rid of the IPKF.

This line of thinking was fuelled by President Premadasa's attitude towards the Provincial Councils after he assumed excutive power by directing that the Provincial Councils be fully functional and also discussing the posibility of giving additional powers to the said councils.

Messages went out to the Tiger rank and file from the leadership on what they considered would be the best alternative to the demand for a Tamil homeland. They gave various suggestions. Needless to say the delegation is carrying the answer. From all accounts they are wanting what they say is genuine devolution, something that will replace the Provincial Council set-up.

This is the catch-22 situation. Even if such devolution is possible within the Sri Lankan constitution and the government is willing, the question arises as to how the government will face up to the EPRLF and the Indians. The Indians have made it clear in no uncertain terms that they will not tolerate any discussion which is not confined to the Indo- Lanka Accord. They made this clear when Indian Foreign Secretary, S K Singh met government leaders.

INDIAN POLICY

Subsequent to these meetings they drove home the point in a press statement. The statement said: 'in the course of reviewing the implementation of the Indo-Lanka agreement, the Foreign Secretary of India welcomed the initiative taken recently in the evolving political situation in the framework of the Indo-Lanka agreement.' It is an indication of India's thinking that only negotions within the framework of the Indo-Lanka Accord will be tolerated by them.

State Minister for Defence, Ranjan Wijeratne however has responded by stating to the press that 'no one is going to tell us about the framework within which we have to talk to our countrymen.' President Premadasa too made a similar statement in his May Day message.

Therefore, if LTTE's objective is to drive a wedge between the governments of Sri Lanka and India, they may well be on their way. However, what is alarming for the Sri Lankans is the open threat made by the EPRLF which is running the North-East Provincial Council that any steps taken to dissolve the councils would result in them taking up to arms again. What is even more alarming is that the government itself in the name of the CVF appear to have armed the EPRLF.

A news item appearing in a daily paper on Thursday quoted a North-East Provincial Council Minister as saying that the central government had sent them 450 Chinese S 84 and 80,000 rounds of ammunition.

This too the government will now have to bear in mind when they strive to strike a deal with the LTTE and the fallout such a deal will bring. All this and the JVP factor will in the coming weeks determine how safe a place Sri Lanka will be to live in. (From *The Sunday Times, Colombo - May 7, 1989)*

SIR GEOFFREY HOWE IN MADRAS

British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, told reporters in Madras that there would be no crackdown on Sri Lankan Tamil militants operating from London. "We can't take any action against them unless they violate British law or indulge in criminal acts", he said. He also met Dr M Karunanidhi, the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister.

In an editorial 'The Island' pointed out that London was one of the most important centres of Tamil secessionism, and called upon the British Government to review its policy towards Eelamists who are domiciled in London.

OFFICES AND BANKS BACK TO 3-DAY WEEK

The Banks and Government offices in Jaffna, which remained closed for nearly a fortnight over a dispute concerning regular working ordered by the new Provincial Council, reopened on April 4, and will adhere to three-day work-week, at the insistance of the LTTE.

MANAL AARU COLONISATION GOES AHEAD

Despite protests by the Tamils, the region of Manal Aaru in the Tamil areas of the East has now been declared by the government as a separate district under the Sinhalese name "Wali Oya." Clearing of land by day and by night is being carried on by bulldozers for a distance of 5 miles from Thennamaravaadi, a village in the Eastern province, near Trincomalee. The land is being colonised with Sinhalese and the security forces have established a camp there.

It will be recalled that Tamil families who lived in Manal Aaru and neighbouring areas of Naayaaru, Kokkilai, Thennamaravaadi and Kokkuttoduvai were driven away 4 years ago and have been refused resettlement up-to-date.

In the meantime, Mr Dayaratne, Minister of Lands, disclosed in Parliament that 3,000 families had already been settled in 'Wali-Oya' (former Tamil Manal-Aaru) and that in future colonisations would be governed by the provisions of the Provincial Council Bill.

RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CAR-BOMB BLASTS

The IPKF and All India Radio were quick enough to put the blame on the LTTE as responsible for the recent car-bomb attack in Trincomalee, in which nearly 50 persons were killed, mostly Sinhalese. But majority of the Sinhalese in Trincomalee believe that it was the work of the EPRLF aided and abetted by the IPKF, according to a statement by Mr Ranjan Wijeratne, Minister of Defence. 10 Tamils, including a senior Tamil Police officer, were killed by Sinhalese in retaliation for this bomb attack.

Following another car-bomb blast near Sivan Kovil junction on Jaffna-Palaly Road, IPKF started shelling towards the area of the blast. Many Tamils were killed and 26 injured.

IS THE N-E PROVINCIAL MERGER VALID ?

Mr Dinesh Gunawardene, referred in Parliament to the fact that the merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces was made by a proclamation under the Emergency Regulations and that with the lifting of the Emergency the merger has become invalid. He also said that the N-E Provincial Council was therefore an illegal and unconstitutional entity.

PROSPECTS OF IPKF WITHDRAWAL

According to an Indian Government spokesman, a 'substantial' number of the IPKF is to be withdrawn 'shortly' from Sri Lanka in view of the 'improved situation' in the North-Eastern Province.

In a recent editorial 'The Deccan Herald' commented, "The best service India can render to Lanka is to set an early date for the withdrawal of the IPKF. One factor that makes it difficult for Delhi is the certainty that the new set-up in the North-east which India helped to bring into being will collapse."

IPKF KILLS CIVILIANS IN RETALIATION

25 IPKF soldiers were killed in two separate landmine attacks in Oddisuddan and Mankulam areas on 6 April. In retaliation IPKF attacked Tamil civilians from helicopter gunships and killed 20 of them.

10 INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

Ten Indian soldiers were killed and several injured in a clash between the IPKF and the LTTE guerrillas at Periyamadu in Mannar district on May 9. One LTTE fighter, Murali, was injured. In a separate incident on the same day LTTE fighters launched a mortar attack on an Indian post at Neerveli in Jaffna. Casualty figures are not known.

A DARING CAMP BREAK

On 2.5.89, 41 LTTE cadres breached the maximum security camp of the IPKF at Kallippaadu, Vavuniya, and escaped to freedom. They were among the 157 cadres who were brought from Tamil Nadu on 8.8.1988 and detained in various Indian camps in Tamil Eelam, in contravention of the promise made by the Government of India of their release. 42 of them were detained in Kallippaadu camp which has the strength of a brigade.

All but one of the detainees escaped in that daring camp-break. In a gun-battle which lasted 15 minutes during that meticulously planned operation, one LTTE cadre 'Jana' died of gunshot injuries. Four Indian soldiers were killed and some weapons were captured by the escaped Tiger guerrillas.

POLITICAL KILLINGS IN THE N-E

The following political killings have been recorded, among several others, during the week 7-13 April 1989 in the N-E:

Mr K Ramanather (52) of Tellippalai, Addl.Govt.Agent, Jaffna.

Mr Ponniah Muthu of Valaichenai, President, Citizens' Committee.

Mr K Sellathurai of Chavakachcheri, Principal, Vigneswara College.

Mr I Balasingham of Pt.Pedro, retired Principal and J.P.

EROS DETAINEES RELEASED

Out of the 105 Tamil detainees still held in custody, 13 EROS detainees were released on 6th April as promised by the President to the EROS.

தமிழ்த்தாய் வாழ்த்து

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சீருடைச் செந்தமிழ் மகள் வாழி! எம்
சிந்தையில் நிறைந்தே அவள் வாழி!

போருடைப் புறமும் அன்புடை அகமும்
போர்த்த பேரழகாள் புகழ் வாழி!

ஆரமாய் இயலொடு தேனிசை நாடகம்
அணிந்தவள் சங்கம் தனில் ஊறிச்

சாரமாய் வடிந்த காவியச் சோலையில்
களி நடம் பயின்றவள் பேர் வாழி!

ஏருடை நிலமும் காருடை வளமும்
தாருடை அரசும் இல்லாமல்

பாரெலாம் அலையும் தமிழரை இணைத்தே
வீறுடைச் செல்வியாய் அவள் வாழி!

* * *

குறள் எனும் முடி கொண்ட தமிழ் மகளே- ஒரு
குவலயப் புகழ் கொண்ட மொழி மலரே!

இறைமை கொள் இளமை கொண்டவளே-உயிர்
இனித்திட அணைத்திடும் இனியவளே!

குறிஞ்சியும் முல்லையும் நெய்தலும் மருதமும்
பிரிந்தவர் பாலையும் கொண்ட அகம்

எறிந்தவர் வேலினை ஏந்திய நெஞ்சுடன்
சரிந்தவர் போர் மறம் பேசும் புறம்

இலக்கியச் செழிப்புடன் இலக்கணச் செறிவும்
துலக்கிடும் பெட்டகம் ஆனவளே!

உயிர்க்கலை அறிவும் உலகியல் நுண்மையும்
பயின்றிடும் பெருமை கண்டவளே!

ஆட்சியும் அரசும் அறஞ்செறி மானமும்
மாட்சியாய் மதித்தவர் மாதரசே!

வீழ்ச்சியில் வீழ்ந்து போன உன் குடிகளை
ஆட்சியில் அமர்த்திட அருள் மகளே!

(மேற்படி பாக்கள் அண்மையில் நடைபெற்ற
தமிழ் மாநாட்டுக்கென இயற்றப்பட்டவை)
இயற்றியவர்:- புலவர் நல்லதம்பி சிவநாதன்
இசைஅமைத்துப் பாடியவர்:- மாதினி சிறீக்கந்தராசா.

FROM THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

The stage is set ready

Invocatory song by Mathini Sriskandarajah

Keynote address by K Veeramani, Dravida Kazhagam

P Upendra, MP, Secretary, National Front, demands IPKF withdrawal.

Karen Parker (Lawyer and Human Rights Activist, USA) clarifies "Self Determination"

K P Unnikrishnan, MP, President, Congress (S), expresses solidarity with Eelam Tamils

N V N Somu, MP, (DMK) Representing Dr Kalaignar M Karunanidhi, reaffirms continued support of Tamil Nadu.

D B S Jeyaraj (Nieman Fellow, Harvard University, Cambridge) says "Tiger will not eat grass even when hungry"

Welcome address by N Seevaratnam, Secretary General

A section of the delegates

Aladi Aruna, MP (AIADMK), thunders

Sunanda K Datta-Ray, Editor, The Statesman (India)

Prof A J Wilson, Political Scientist, dissects and analyses.

A P Venkateswaran, Former Foreign Secretary, India

Paul Joseph, ANC Representative, states "the more you ape others, the more you will be rejected".

Alagirisamy, General Secretary, Tamil National Movement, lighting traditional lamp at the Public meeting that followed the conference.